KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG.

A SKETCH OF

His Life and Career

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KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG.

BIRTH: EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION.

Telang was born on August 30th, 1850. He belonged to a middle-class Hindu family. His family was one of the twelve Saraswat families that had left their native home in Goa early in the last century, to seek their fortune, in the busy and commercially growing city of Bombay. His father and mother were quite uneducated as we understand education now. But they were characterized by mother wit, were pious and frugal, with noble traditions of respectability and steady virtue behind them. His mother was gentle and amiable. These traits of a sweet and amiable disposition, Telang shared in no small degree.

It was early in life that Telang was sent to school to learn his vernacular. Even at that early age he seems to have been very studious. He finished his vernacular studies in due course winning prizes from the Deputy Educational Inspector, Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, with whom in later life he was destined to rub shoulders on a common platform. He was sent to learn English at the Elphinstone School at the tender age of nine. The headmaster of the school was one W. H. Smith and below him was the late Ardesir Framjee Moos. In the school it was not enough for him

to learn his daily lessons. He supplemented them by additional reading to be able to give satisfactory answers to his teachers on all the general questions that arose out of the lessons prescribed. In the Middle School he won a prize in English in 1861 and he was selected on the occasion of the prize distribution to recite the poem on the death of Sir John Moore. He won another prize in 1862. It was at this time that his attention was drawn towards Marathi poetry, and to be able to appreciate its spirit he began the study of Sanskrit under a Shastri. His fellow-student was the famous linguist and the first Indian Civilian, Shripad Babaji Thakore. He was now promoted to the Matriculation class where his fellow-students were Jamsetji Ardesir Dalal, Gajanan Krishna Bhatavdekar, Rao Shaeb Tullo, Thakore, and Nadkarni. All of them rose to distinction in their respective walks of life.

In his secondary course Mr. Telang proved himself an apt pupil, with a special bias for languages. His tutors marked him out as a promising lad, took special care to cultivate his tastes, not however at the sacrifice of subjects absolutely needed for the University Examination. The late N. M. Parmanand who was his teacher in the school and who became afterwards his trusted friend and a revered and sage guide in all public matters, guided him in getting up his Mathematics thus making his path smooth for success at the University. Under the able guidance of Parmanand, his proficiency in Mathematics was so marked that he secured a prize in that subject and in English in 1863. He passed the Matriculation in

1864 with Sanskrit for his second language. At this time he got from his Principal as a prize MaxMuller's "History of Sanskrit Literature." It was also during this period that he became an ardent student of Marathi poetry, the love for which he retained through life. Mr. Telang was known in after life to be a brilliant conversationalist. He would quote often from his favourite English poets. This trait of his manifested itself also at this time in connection with Marathi poetry, the choicest couplets of which he would quote on occasions to the delight of his friends and teachers. Mr. Telang passed his Matriculation at the age of fourteen. While at college he showed the same diligence and passion for general reading that marked him out at school. He won the Junior scholarship in 1865; and senior scholarship in April 1866; passed his F.A. in December, won another scholarship in 1867 and secured the Raja of Dhar Prize and Ganpatrao Vithal prize in English.

At seventeen, he took his B.A. degree, at nineteen, he passed the M. A. examination in languages. Six months later he obtained the Bhagwandass scholarship in Sanskrit which then meant a separate and a severer test than at present. The same year he passed his LL.B. examination. Three years later he passed the Advocate's examination. Thus at twenty-two he qualified himself for the legal profession. From seventeen to twenty-two he was a fellow at his college. It was during this period that he formed the habit of strenuous application and laid the foundation of that accurate, deep and

extensive knowledge which made him the versatile scholar that he was known to be.

CHARACTERISTICS.

We have brought down the narrative of Mr. Telang's life to the end of his college career. Before we pass on to his professional career, it would not be amiss to dwell for a short space on some of his remarkable characteristics.

Foremost among them were self-directiveness and self-reliance. The paramount impulse to learning came in his case entirely from within. There was nothing in Telang's immediate surroundings calculated at an early age to create an atmosphere of high thoughts impelling to lofty endeavour. There were no traditions of learning established in the family. It was instinct and nature that supplied the moral motive power. English education was then a valuable passport to material prosperity and to a position of eminence, and perhaps ambition, "that last infirmity of noble minds" had its share in reinforcing the proclivities of the precocious youth. His again was a surer aim. To the ideal that he formed early in life, he stuck with a tenacity, strenuousness and self-possession remarkable for his age. There was nothing of drift about his doings. The goal to be attained was deliberately fixed and all his energy was bent towards accomplishing it. He was elected for the profession of an Advocate and he stuck to his resolution inspite of an offer of the Headmastership of a High School on a salary of Rs. 300, made to him by Mr. Peile the then Director of Public Instruction. Mr. Peile in

pressing the offer said that any graduate at Oxford would willingly accept in England, the salary of Rs. 300 to start with. Mr. Telang refused. He wanted to follow in the footsteps of Ranade and Bal Mangesh Wagle who had preceded him at the Bar. Mr. Jamsetji A. Dalal remarks on this :—" Perhaps there was *afflatus divinus* within him of his future career as an advocate, orator and leader of men." The same "deliberate purpose and timely preparation" characterized Mr. Telang's action throughout life.

Early in life, again, he had resolved to throw himself whole-heartedly in the public life of his country.

In those days educated men being few and far between, could be easily picked out. Friendships were formed and common ideals evolved naturally out of the exchange of ideas. Mutual action and reaction kept them steady in the routine of public life. The University men formed a band inspired by common aims, a luminous centre attracting all of common sympathy, because sympathy could not be expected in the encircling darkness. Men like Dadabhoy Nowroji, Nowroji Furdoonji, Sorobji Shapurjee Bengali, Dr. Bhaoo Dajee, Sir Manguldass Nathubhoy had already chalked out a path for others to follow and young aspirants readily followed. The struggle of life was not so keen ; problems had not become so complex; paths had not diverged; the future was not overcast with a leaden hue. There was the zest of youth in the indulgence of its own energetic life. The men of those times saw glorious

prospects, but they did not discern the fatal barriers that closed the approach. A youth of brilliant parts like Mr. Telang readily fell into the way of his predecessors and soon attained a conspicuous position. With the self-knowledge that he possessed, he set himself unflinchingly to the task of equipping himself for the responsibility that he was determined to take upon himself.

PROFESSION.

The profession of law was not then so overcrowded as it is now. Mr. Telang belonged to the second generation of graduates turned out by the University. Men of far inferior calibre who took to that profession then had made their piles. Imagine then what a golden harvest was ready for the reaping to one who had far better qualifications in point of special study and a wider field in which to exercise his talents than is open to ordinary L.L.Bs.,—not to speak of his transcendant gifts, and the strenuous discipline by which he had drilled them for use. At the same time another fact ought not to be ignored. Mr. Telang compared with his European rivals was only an inexperienced youth. Men like Mr. Latham, Sir Andrew Scoble, Seargent Atkinson and others then monopolized the practice at the Bar. TheEuropean element had a greater preponderance then than at present and was also more ably represented. The only Indian Advocates that had preceded him were Bal Mangesh Wagle and Ranade. Wagle was the only practising Hindu Advocate. Ranade had taken up a Government post. Mehta and Tyabji were

struggling forward in the profession like himself. In the seventies of the last century Native solicitors also were few and far between. For a struggling young Indian to make his mark in rivalry with a formidable array of experienced European barristers, it was even then an uphill work, howsoever intelligent he may have been.

In six months' time, it became plain to all that Telang was marked for success. As Sir Raymond West puts it, in virtue of that sympathetic faculty which Telang possessed in quite an unusual degree, he almost at once acquired the "English tone of the bar and moved morally and dialectically on a platform absolutely the same as that of his learned friends" from Europe. His politeness, his courtesy, his capacity to take pains, his attractive delivery, his power of close reasoning and above all his humility won for him the heart of his colleagues. Sir Raymond West remarks that there was at times an over-subtility in his argumentation. At times he was wrong or far less cautious in choosing his major premises, but it was all fair play and whenever Telang insisted upon any point, there was sure to be some solid reason at the back of it. He would argue tenaciously and reply with good humour to all the contentions raised by the court but he never heckled. Whenever he saw that his contention stood on a weak basis, he gave over. Hence the Judges always gave him a respectful hearing, considering that they were safe in his hands. There was no attempt to mislead the court.

Both as a lawyer and a judge he helped a great deal to formulate aright the canons of Hindu law

and it is to be regretted that a man of such parts and such special knowledge should have been cut off too soon to leave behind a monumental work on the subject. No one was better fitted for the undertaking both by his Sanskrit scholarship, his broad general culture and above all his literary gift of luminous treatment.

But Telang as Sir Raymond West has said never allowed the scholar, the educationist, the public man to be submerged in the lawyer, and it is to his public life that we must now turn to derive instruction and help for our own guidance. That is what matters most to the lay mind.

SOCIAL REFORM.

Telang's opinions on social reform may be best gathered from his two lectures in Marathi delivered before the Hindu Union Club—a club by the way which he founded to bring about harmonious relations between the different sections of the Hindu Community, by affording the members of different castes scope for meeting on a common platform, to exchange views, mix in social intercourse and to contribute by their combined efforts to build up the social, moral and literary life of the future. These lectures are :—

1. The relative importance of Shastra and Custom.
2. Compromise in social matters.

There are two other writings which also give us an insight into his standpoint, his reply to Mr. Malabari's notes on "Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood," and his much discussed as also much misunderstood lecture delivered before the

Student's Literary and Scientific Society on "Must social reform precede political reform"? His brief address as the President of the Indian Social Conference as also his lecture on Western Education in the Bombay Presidency delivered before the Elphinstonian Social Gathering in 1890, as well as his reply to the letter of an enthusiastic reformer, Mr. Y. N. Ranade, afford additional glimpses and perhaps his ripest as certainly his most final conclusions on the same topic. The energetic campaign he carried on in 1891 against the partizans of orthodoxy in the Age of Consent Controversy, who had raised the cry of religion in danger and who wanted to taboo State interference, shows his fervour, insight and his wise and manly attitude. Earlier in the year 1886, when a meeting was held in the Madhav Baug under the presidentship of Mr. Mandlik to send a petition to the Viceroy protesting strongly against Mr. Malabari's " meddlesome attitude" in regard to Hindu Social questions and his urgent demand for state interference, Mr. Telang attended the meeting to propose an amendment to the effect that the Hindu community was alive to its own shortcomings and would try to reform Social Institutions from within and that therefore the state need not interfere. That amendment was not allowed. Later on he insisted in the Age of Consent Bill Controversy that the state had every right to interfere for the sake of justice and humanity even if the Shastras were against the proposed measure. When the opponents raised the cry that state interference in social matters was against the pledge given in the Proclamation of

1858, he took a still higher ground and said that no person had a right to renounce his duty and that this distinction between the renunciation of right and the desertion of duty required to be maintained as between a sovereign and a subject even more strongly than between an ordinary man and man. Furthermore, it was the duty of the sovereign to protect his subjects from unjust harm.

This is in truth the Sovereign's paramount duty—the common ground on which the champions of meddlesome state interference must join hands with Manu on the one side and with Humboldt and Herbert Spencer on the other.

He winds up the discussion on the cry of religion in danger with the following warning to the Government.

If where the claims of humanity are implicated, the British Government is to hold its hand and put forward a plea of *non possumus*, it will write itself down as unworthy of its best traditions and will announce a principle of action that if logically carried out will destroy the possibility of any solid good resulting from its presence in India.

Mr. Telang's contributions on the "Age of Consent Controversy" form very stimulating reading. They reveal his learning, his critical acumen, his power of interpretation, and the dignity, moderation and fair play with which he carried on the fight for what he considered the cause of truth, humanity and justice.

That Mr. Telang was won over to the side of state legislation in social matters is clearly shown by his attitude in the Age of Consent Controversy, even as his intellectual master, Herbert Spencer

gave his reluctant sanction to Mr. Malabari's proposal as we read in Mr. Karkaria's book. Telang felt the hopelessness of the reformer's efforts unless he was backed up by the state. "The liberty of man consisted in being forced to find out the right path and to walk thereon."

Mr. Telang's reverence for the past was born of deep and first-hand knowledge. He was not an obscurantist. He knew the merits and the strength of the ancient people of Bharatkhanda, but he knew full well how their descendants had strayed from the path into the wilderness of ritualism, ceremonial, superstition and rigid dogma. Under the domination of caste, the separative tendency was growing faster. Telang saw wherein the mischief lay. He strove hard to spread right notions by speeches, writings and essays. He enjoined upon the educated men the need of thinking out every problem for themselves, of tracing it to its very source and of forming deliberate opinions, so that when time for action comes they may not be swayed hither and thither by the shifting gusts of opinion.

In the matter of reform his motto was hasten slowly. In his note to Mr. Malabari he said :—

> **We must work as ardently as if our efforts were to be crowned with success at once. But on the other hand, we must be content to take the fruits as they come in the fulness of time and not be despondent or impatient if the customs which have stood for centuries do not at once fall of a heap at the blast of our trumpet.**

In his last address he said, "it was the duty of every one to understand and appreciate the past and selecting all that was possible from it, apply

it to the altered circumstances of to-day. All this was to be done with moderation, wisdom and right direction." His message may be summed up in the words of Justice Ranade :—

The true reformer has not to write upon a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half written sentence. We cannot break with the past altogether. For it is a rich inheritance and we have no reason to be ashamed of it. But while respecting the past, we must ever seek to correct the parasitical growths that have encrusted it.

LITERARY WORK.

We are now turning to perhaps the most inward phase of Mr. Telang's life, the work which he cherished most and to which he would fain have devoted all his energies if circumstances had so shaped his career.

His literary work may be divided under three heads 1. The books he translated or annotated. 2. The various essays on antiquarian topics contributed either to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society or to the Indian Antiquary. And 3. his miscellaneous essays on varied topics read either before the Student's Literary and Scientific Society, of which he was for many years the Secretary, or before the Hindu Union Club. The purpose of the last was to give an incentive and stimulus to correct thinking on the topics of the day.

We cannot do more than barely chronicle the many papers he contributed to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal and to the Indian Antiquary. It was after finishing his studies and qualifying for the profession,

that he turned his attention to "antiquarian work and the work of making researches into the history of India, and the development of Indian thought". It was in 1872 that the Indian Antiquary was started by Dr. Burgess. Its first volume contained two essays by Telang, one is on the 'Date of Nyayakusumanjali' and another is a short note pointing out "that however right Dr. Rajendralal Mitra might be in holding that there was a time in historic memory, when the ancestors of the Hindoos ate beef freely that time came to an end sometime before Christ". In the same volume appeared Rev. Boyd's translation of Weber's paper in which the latter had set himself to shaking the tradition of the extreme antiquity of the Ramayana. Weber sought to show that "the great Hindu Epic really dates from the third or the fourth century A. D. and that it contains clear internal evidence of an acqaintance with the Homeric Saga-cycle". Telang answered the arguments of Weber in an essay called "Was the Ramayana copied from Homer"?

The publication of this in a pamphlet form gave Telang a place of acknowledged eminence amongst Sanskrit scholars. The essay was subsequently published in the pamphlet form and was highly praised by the academy.

The essay refuting the contentions of Dr. Weber was read in 1873. Early in 1870 he had read a paper before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society on the life of Shankaracharya. The same year he contributed a criticism on Dr. Kielhorn's Sanskrit Grammar to the columns of the *Native Opinion*. In 1871 he had read an essay

before the Students' Society on Mukti-kopanishad. The Essay on Ramayana has already been noted. The same year he wrote an essay on the date of Shri Harsha for the "Indian Antiquary."

In 1874 he read a paper before the Students' Literary Society contesting the theory of Lorringer as regards the Bhagwatgita, that it was copied from the Bible. The Essay was afterwards embodied as an introduction to the metrical translation of the "Divine Lay" published in 1875.

In the same year he contributed four essays to the "Indian Antiquary" (1) on the drama of Bana called Parvati parinaya: (2) on Kalidas, Shri Harsha and Chand: (3) The Ramayana older than Patanjali (4) Note on the Ramayana. The same year he read two learned papers before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1) on the Chalukya copper plates (2) the Date of Madhusudhan Saraswati, the author of Gita Gudhartha Dipika. In this paper he combated the views of Lassen and Burnouf that Madhusudhan lived in the XVI century A. C. Telang came to the conclusion that he flourished in the reign of Aurangazeb either at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In 1876 he wrote a note in the "Indian Antiquary" on Anandgiri's Shankarvijaya and read an essay on Three Copper-Plates of the Kudamba Dynasty before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1880 he wrote a note on the useful Marathi Serial, the Kavyetihas Sangraha, in the *Indian Antiquary*, recommending it to public attention as the work devoted to the publication of original sources of

Maratha History. The same year he wrote an essay on the Silhar Copper-plate for the same monthly. In 1881, he contributed a review of Mandlik's Hindu law to the pages of *Indian Antiquary*.

In 1884 he read another essay on the Date of Shankaracharya before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. He also read an essay on Purnavarma and Shankaracharya and another on the Gleanings from the Sharirika Bhashya of Shankaracharya before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

We have so far dealt with Telang's essays on Social reform and other kindred topics and with his eassys on antiquarian research. We now turn to the books that he annotated or translated. He edited two Sanskrit works for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, (1) Bhartrahari's Niti and Vairagya Shataka, (2) The Mudrarakshasa of Vishakhadáta. His metrical translation of the Bhagwatgita to which is prefixed his reply to Dr. Lorringer and his prose translation of the same work for Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East Series complete his work in the field of Sanskrit literature. His essay onFree Trade and Protection written in 1877 for the Sasoon Mechanics Institute shows his thorough assimilation of the literature of Economics available in his day and his power of applying economic principles to Indian conditions.

Another essay of his deals with the social and religious aspects of the history of the Marathas as gathered from the examination of original documents. It was delivered as a lecture before the Deccan College in 1892. " Mr. Telang's paper

represents" writes Justice Ranade in his preface to the "Rise of the Maratha Power," "the true spirit in which Native historians should treat the past history of their country". It has also a melancholy interest attached to it. It was a sort of prelude to the more comprehensive work on the History the Marathas which he had undertaken to write for the Longmans.

Telang translated two books in Marathi, (1) Chalmer's Local Self-Government and (2) Lessing's 'Nathan the Wise.' In the preface to the 1st book he explains the reasons that induced him to undertake the work. Lord Ripon's Government had granted in 1884 the boon of local self government to the people. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha had sent round preachers to spread information as regards the functions devolving on the people in consequence of the boon conferred. Telang thought it his duty to make available for those who did not know English, a systematic treatise in Marathi on the subject of Local Self-Government.

The translation of Lessing's "Nathan the Wise" was undertaken with the purpose of directing the taste of Marathi readers to healthy, instructive, elevating, first rate foreign literature. The translation of Reynolds and Boccacio threatened to poison the spring of pure literature. Telang wanted to stem the tide. The Drama was translated also to inculcate the principle of toleration on the mind of its readers.

We have now brought to a close this brief record of Telang's literary work. Learning with him was not a mere source of intense delight nor was it only an intellectual pastime. He found in it"lamp

for his feet." It was not a miser's hoard to gloat on with pleasure, but a treasure readily placed at the disposal of others, for guidance, instruction and to serve as an inspiration to similar endeavour.

TELANG'S WORK IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION.

Mr. Telang was fully aware of the exigencies of his own times and the peculiar position of his country and hence his ideal of education was all inclusive. The curriculum which he drafted and which was adopted by the Senate of the Bombay University in 1891, was framed with this ideal in view. Telang wrote :—

> A B. A. cannot be and ought not to be expected to be a master of any particular subject and an authority upon it immediately after his graduation. A B.A. should I think, be a man who has had the general cultivation which ought to be the basis of all special cultivation. He should know English and a classical language, should have the discipline which Mathematics gives, should know the elements of logic and of political Economy and physical sciences and have a general knowledge of the history of England and India.

The Curriculum in the Arts Course of the Bombay University from P. E. to the B. A. was framed with this leading principle in view. The best opinion of the time was in Mr. Telang's favour. On the Committee along with Telang were men like Justice Birdwood, Dr. Mackhikan and James Jardine, men distinguished for their scholarship and free from the narrowness of the expert. Telang extended the academic life of the student from three to four years and gave him a respite of one year from the annual round of exa-

mination, at the end of the third year. His aim was that that year should be devoted to a steady pursuit of knowledge, to "browsing at large in the library" and making a close and wider acquaintance with "the master minds of old". He transferred the group of History and Political Economy from the class of optional to the class of compulsory subjects. It was his opinion that every Indian ought to have a sound general knowledge of the history of his own country, of the vicissitudes it had passed through, of its past sufferings and triumphs, of its turmoils, of its social and political mistakes, so that he might play his part wisely in the work of amelioration and reconstruction to which he must as a patriot dedicate himself. In addition to the knowledge of the history of his own country, he must also know the history of England which was a model for wise political action. England was in the forefront of nations as the master of the art of wise accomodation, of cautious advance and an eminently practical if not logical synthesis between the old and the new. Besides, England and India were politically bound up. Action and reaction between the two was inevitable and he, who by reason of his education and traditional sympathy was a natural mediator between the two, must understand both fully. The educated Indian, however humble his sphere, had to be in his own person the interpreter between the old and the new if he was to be a potent instrument for the good of his country. That task he could not very well perform if the foundation for it were not laid in the general knowledge of English history and

political Economy which more than any other subject give him a hold on the true methods of constructive work—be it in the social, political, spiritual or economic sphere. The peculiar situation of his country made the study of these subjects an indispensable necessity to him. Hence it was that Telang made them compulsory.

As regards the other phases of the educational problem, his views are to be gathered from the minute of dissent he wrote to some of the recommendations of the Education Commission appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon in 1882. The object of the commission was to enable the Government to know how the policy introduced by the Educational despatch of 1854, had answered its purpose; "how far the superstructure corresponded with the original design." The commission was asked to suggest such methods as it might think desirable with a view to more completely carry out the policy therein laid down. The Government, it was declared, was firmly convinced of the soundness of the policy and wanted to further extend the system of public instruction on a popular basis. Telang like Dr. Gurudas Banerjee was for broadening the basis of Education as a general policy, for making it cheap, for affording full opportunity for as many as could avail themselves of the light of Western thought. He was against the policy of exacting too high and unpractical conditions from the founders of new Colleges.

While yielding to none in his appreciation of original research, to which he had contributed in no small degree by his own efforts, Telang held

that in matters of University Education "breadth should on no account be sacrificed to depth." We must welcome all light, especially the " British light " he said on one occasion and it must be diffused far and wide. " The greatest benefit of English education was the seeds it had sown for all kinds of reform"; and therefore he would never throw obstacles in the way of his countrymen that prevented them from acquiring that education.

On the question of mass education he says :—

I unreservedly accept the view that without mass education the country will never be able to enjoy to the full the fruit which it has a right to expect from higher education. But in this as in other spheres of education, " the different branches of education should move forward together. The pushing forward of primary education is impossible without higher education. The one should not be fostered by starving out the other. In the present condition of India, it devolved as a sacred duty upon the state to promote the popular as well as the superior and secondary instruction.

" In my opinion," said Telang, "the whole religious, social, political and industrial advance of the country, depends on the steady adhesion to that enlightened policy as regards high education which has probably been the most generally approved portion of British Indian policy in the past. In order that private effort should be forthcoming in any district, high education must as a general rule, have been in existence in that district for some time."

To this part of the state's duty Telang drew the attention of Lord Ripon's Government in the following words.

I hope that the Government of Lord Ripon which has already done so much for the country, will add the educational to its many laurels and achieve directly or

indirectly the credit which Matthew Arnold gives to the Government of France on the Restoration after the battle of Waterloo. "To the Restoration," he says, "is due the credit of having first perceived that in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of war were necessary." Other Governments had decreed systems of education for the people, the Government of the Restoration decreed funds. The question of popular education is mainly a question of funds. What is wanted and what we must trust to, is not the shortsighted economies in the expenditure on Higher education, which have been suggested by some irresponsible reformers of our system, but effort on the part of the British Indian Government to follow, at however great a distance, the Imperial Government which has in ten years increased its grant to education from £ 1940,000 to £ 4,290.000 sterling.

POLITICS.

Telang's political ideal and his political method were the ideal and the method of the generation that preceded him. He was brought up in the school of Dr. Bhau Daji, Nowroji Furdoonji, Mandlik and Dadabhoy Nowroji. Their patriotism was marked by sanity and self-control. Their method of criticism was characterized by what Bagehot has chosen to call "animated moderation". There was independance of spirit and searching criticism. But the undertone was a deep and rational feeling of loyalty. That loyalty was as much based on reason as on self-interest. They looked upon the British connection in the light of a Providential dispensation, not merely in a spirit of fatalism but with the strong faith of reasoned conviction. Self-interest and good faith therefore bound them in chains of loyalty to British rule in India.

Their criticism of administrative measures was consequently broadminded, rational, and based on the thorough knowledge of facts. It was marked by sobriety and thoughtfulness and wise insight into the needs of the hour. Yet it was far from being of a halting or hesitating character. They were keen in detecting flaws and fearless in exposing them.

Their task was two-fold. They had to build up public opinion to strengthen their case. They had also to turn the face of the state towards the nation rather than towards the bureaucrats. Their work consisted in securing for individual Indians equality of treatment with individual Englishmen. With this end in view they agitated for throwing open the responsible posts in the administration to worth and merit wherever it was found. Fitness alone, they argued, should be the criterion of eligibility, a rule proclaimed long before, but observed rather in the breach than in the performance. Competition rather than patronage should be the governing principle. To make the competitive test equitable in its operation they urged upon the rulers the advisability as well as the justice of holding the civil service examination simultaneously in India and England.

The other thing they sought to achieve was to transform the purely personal form of government into one in which there was scope enough for consulting and knowing the wishes of the people. With this object they set themselves to the task of agitating for reform in Municipal franchise: for the grant of local self-government which is

"the fittest preparation and the most convenient stepping stone for anything approaching to a constitutional regime."

They also wanted that the legislative bodies might be expanded, reformed and fostered into "useful institutions proving a convenient channel through which the European element in the government might obtain an insight into the inner mind and the less obvious wants of the native population."

The political struggle between 1872-1889, the period of Telang's active work in the field of politics turned mainly round these two principal demands.

The State in India even in these days of expansion and reform is to use the significant phrase of Dr. Emil Reich "an endless array of bureaucrats". It was much more so in the early years of Indian political life. Backed by the prestige of England and with a free field before him for the exercise of power, the bureaucrat of those days considered himself self-sufficient. He was a law unto himself. He resented criticism and considered controversy as highly irritating. His policy and measures were conceived and hatched up in the dark and came upon the people with the suddenness of a cataclysm of Nature. He went out in search of arguments to bolster up his theory however much it violated all the fundamental maxims of good government. He was a master in the art of finessing.

Bureaucracy was indeed a splendid machine, but its efficiency was marred by inelasticity. It was to use the words of Sir Charles Dilke "secret and

irresponsible." Irresponsible autocracy, secrecy of method, proud indifference to public criticism, lofty contempt for advice, were the prevailing mode of those times among the bureaucrats. The good or bad management of finance, the equality or inequality of taxation, the economy or waste of revenue, a policy of peace or war, expansion or retrenchment—all turned upon the whim or caprice of the individual head of the Government. There was no council powerful enough to control or guide. The councils, to use the phrase of Telang, were "little better than a solemn farce."

This want of consistency and continuity in the method of government, this defiant attitude towards public opinion, this triumph of personal rule became most marked in the regime of Lord Lytton. All the acts of that regime, from the wasteful expenditure of revenue on the Frontier policy to the abolition of cotton duties, came in for a sharp criticism at the hands of the non-official public opinion both Indian and European.

Some of Telang's remarkable utterances were delivered at public meetings held to protest against the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton. These utterances reveal at once the sobriety, the self-restraint, the power of close reasoning and penetrating criticism, all pervaded by a vein of subtle humour. The expression is remarkably lucid, and singularly absent from "the foppery of sentiment."

What were the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton that brought home keenly to the people for the first time, the radical defects of a government in which the people had no voice and in

which as a consequence the fundamental maxim of good government ran the utmost risk of being systematically violated ?

The first act of Lord Lytton's regime that came in for a severe condemnation at the hands of the people was the Revenue Jurisdiction Bill of 1876, a bill that was opposed by the High Court, the Bombay Government and the people at large and that was passed in the teeth of that opposition. The Bill "transferred the cognizance of disputes in which the fisc was concerned from the civil courts to the revenue officers".

At a meeting held to petition the Secretary of State to withhold his sanction to the Bill, Telang made a speech much praised by the Gazette for its lucidity. From that speech we cull the following passage which admirably sums up his view on the subject.

The bill marks a tendency to bring people back to the days of personal government. It is objectionable on the ground that it vests in the Revenue officers' authority which they ought not to have, and takes away from the civil courts a power which they ought to have against arbitrary action by revenue officers. It is not enough to be just, the officers must seem just. In the hands of the judges, the rights of the ryots were perfectly safe; in the hands of the Revenue officers, though they might be so, the ryots themselves will not believe them to be so and that is a very strong reason why the Bill should be condemned.

The next speech which Telang delivered was on the License Tax levied in 1878 to contribute towards the formation of the Famine Insurance Fund. A meeting was held in the tent of Wilson's Circus, as the use of Town Hall was

refused for the purpose by the Government, to memorialize to the House of Commons against the tax. It was shown "that the tax was faulty in its details and odious in the principle; that it struck too low and exempted on the one hand high officials and on the other men of the learned professions."

It was levied on traders who were the greatest contributors to indirect taxation and on agriculturists who were already heavy-burdened with the enhanced duty on salt and who were already paying the land tax. Telang showed the arbitrariness and absurdity of the tax by these remarks :—

The grounds on which the proposal to levy this tax is based are first that those who have taken such great pains in meeting the famine are not the proper persons to be taxed in order to defray the expenditure that has been incurred.

2. That in as much as these officers of Government are not to be taxed, therefore all other government officers shall not be taxed and people who may in some sense be supposed to stand in the same position ought not to be taxed? Because these ought not to be taxed therefore the professional classes should not be taxed. Naturally enough the only persons fit to bear the burden of taxation were the traders and the agriculturists.

The next measure of Lord Lytton's that roused the bitter opposition of the public was the Vernacular Press Act, other-wise known as the Gagging Act. Mr. Telang condemned the measure in a series of articles to the *Indu Prakash* and said :—

It appears to us to be descent from the higher level of political status which under the wiser British Government, we had already reached, into the slough of patriarchal rule and personal Government. If there was one thing more than another to which an advocate

of the British Government could point as marking unmistakably the superiority of it to by-gone governments, it was after the liberty of speech and thought, this reign of law-liberty, of speech, which is now become to a considerable extent a thing of the past under the provisions of the Gagging Act. The Reign of law is passed, ceasing under the hands of these sapient legislators who have been ruling the past few years.

From the Vernacular Press Act, we pass on to the abolition of import duties on cotton. The duties were abolished by the Viceroy, "overruling a majority of his colleagues in Council." "The Viceroy stood," as Telang puts it, "in a glorious minority of two against a very large number against him." This was "one of the many indications of a new departure in Indian policy." "It was an indication of Government according to the whims and caprices of individual officers and that the Government by cabinets or councils was passing away". The condition was most unsatisfactory and mischievous. Besides as Telang points out in a meeting held to petition the House of Commons against the act, it was a breach of "promise solemnly given to India indirectly through the replies to Manchester both by Lord Salisbury and Lord Lytton, that they would be no party to a repeal of these duties, if there was to be substituted for them some other mode of taxation". Such a taxation was imposed by the License Tax and the raising of the salt duty. A revenue that the state already possessed in the returns of cotton duties, was sacrificed to burden the famine stricken ryots at the most inopportune moment with enhanced salt duty and the odious because partial License Tax.

This closes the regime of Lord Lytton. The tide now turned. The Liberal ministry came in power in 1881 and sent Lord Ripon to fill the place of the Viceroy. He redeemed once more the glorious name of England as the mother of free institutions and the jealous guardian of the interests of the country committed to her care.

Lord Ripon's rule in India marked a transition from the old to the new. The form of Government was yet purely personal but a sincere attempt was made to make it more and more "broad-based upon the people's will". It was a conviction with Lord Ripon that England was to labour not for the material welfare of India alone; she must bend all her energies and her iron will, as he expressed it in one of his last speeches, to raise the people in the scale of nations by attending to their intellectual development, political training, and moral elevation. In all his measures, whether they deal with education, local self-Government or the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, it was in this spirit that "he endeavoured to discharge the arduous task which for four years was entrusted to his care."

In sketching the political career of Telang, if an Indian's share in the efforts to raise the political status of his own country be at all designated by that name, we are not concerned with all the administrative measures of that noble and beneficient rule. We turn at once to one measure which more than anything else marked the temper of the Government viz., its earnest and sincere desire to treat all people alike, to do away with privileges and exemptions as marking the govern-

ing from the governed. We refer of course to the Ilbert Bill—a measure which roused the bitterest opposition on the part of the Anglo-Indian Community. The Ilbert Bill sought to do nothing more than introduce an amendment in the Criminal Procedure Code which empowered native magistrates to try European criminals. The opposition to the Ilbert Bill was headed by members of the Civil Service and as Sir Henry Cotton has put it in his latest book, "the practical unanimity of opposition to that measure was as complete among civilian magistrates and Judges, as it was among planters, merchants and members of the legal profession". Lord Ripon was "harassed beyond measure by the bigotry and race feeling of his own countrymen". Mutual denunciation and recrimination were rife in Calcutta both in the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Community. The Viceroy was openly insulted at the gates of the Government House by the Europeans. The European community forgot that it was European. As Mr. Wacha has put it "it was scratched on its back and discovered to be primitive Tartar."

Every one seemed to have lost his head. "Matters reached such a pitch that a conspiracy was formed by a number of men in Calcutta who bound themselves in the event of Government adhering to the proposed legislation to overpower the sentries at Government House, put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal Ghat and deport him to England round the Cape".

"The dead wall of antagonism" by which Lord Ripon was confronted became for him too hard to

overcome single-handed. As a result a sort of compromise was effected, which was "the virtual though not avowed abandonment of the measure proposed by the Government." It was in Bombay alone that "there was discerned nothing, or next to nothing of that fury, abuse and wild fanaticism which disgraced Bengal". The Anglo-Indians and the Indians, though they differed from one another conducted the discussions in the papers with a dignity, moderation and sobriety, becoming true citizens. It was the Indian community that at this time evinced in their conduct a spirit of loyalty more loyal than that of the Anglo-Indians. They accorded Lord Ripon enthusiastic support in all his measures. A public meeting was held in Bombay to memorialize the House of Commons from the Indian point of view. Telang, Mehta and Budruddin Tyabji were the principal speakers.

Telang answered point by point all the objections raised by Sir Fitz James Stephen against the Bill. We have not the space to review his whole speech which is well worth reading; we only note a passage bearing on the broad issue of England's work in India. Sir Fitz James had written that the policy of Lord Ripon's Government was inconsistent with the foundations on which British power rests. Telang replied that he denied it entirely. He said

> that the principles of Lord Ripon's administration were in consonance with the long established principles of the British Government as laid down by Parliament and the Crown, and further that they were in accord with the lessons to be derived from the study of past history.

Then follows an eloquent passage which is worth quoting in full as giving us a complete insight into Telang's ideal of England's mission in India.

I remember being struck many years ago in reading, the history of the Romans under the Empire, with a passage in which the author said that one great lesson to be deduced from the history of Rome was that all conquering nations, in order to render their Government in the conquered countries stable and permanent, must divest themselves of their peculiar privileges by sharing them with the conquered peoples. Now, Gentlemen, we all know that it is the proud and just boast of Englishmen, that they are the Romans of the modern world and the British Empire is in modern days what the Roman Empire was in ancient times. If so, are we wrong, are we unreasonable in asking that the lessons of Roman history, and as Merivale points out, the lessons of the history of other ancient Governments also, should be adopted by our British rulers!' "Is it not quite proper and reasonable for us to ask that the countrymen of Clarkson and Wilberforce, of Gladstone and John Bright, should not only adopt those lessons but improve upon them and rise superior to the countrymen of Marius and Sulla, the Triumvirs and the Caesars? I venture to say, gentlemen, that if Britons are now content to fail to carry out those lessons and to fall short of the generosity of the Romans, it will be regarded as not creditable to them by the future historian. And as a loyal subject of the British Government I should be sorry for such a result.

Every point that Sir Fitz James Stephen put forward against the Bill, Telang showed to be characterized by an attitude of shortsightedness and race-prejudice. Telang says " If I was an opponent of the Jurisdiction Bill, I should be afraid of his championship". When Sir Fitz James Stephen put forward a plea in favour of special privilege for Europeans on the ground that every

section of the Indian Community enjoyed a similar privilege recognized by law, Telang answered that the privileges which the various Indian communities enjoyed were those of civil law. He asks,

> what does it matter to John Jones whether the property of Rama, Ahmed or Mukerjee goes on his death to his sons, his daughters, his father, or mother or widow? But a law of Criminal procedure affects other communities in a most important respect.

Sir Fitz James Stephen had remarked in his reply to Mill that the British Government in India was heading a revolution. Telang fastens upon this statement and asks

> if the Government is actually interfering with the personal liberties of us, unenlightened and uncivilised natives, is there any thing wrong in their interfering with those of the enlightened Britions, with whose views and opinions, feelings and wishes they are much more familiar and in much great sympathy: Is there anything unfair if we ask that the same measure be dealt out to both ?

Sir Fitz James Stephen's argument was that there were special tribunals for Europeans maintained in Turkey and other countries. Telang replies that

> in foreign countries the European is protected from foreign courts to be subjected to British courts. In India he is protected from one class of British courts to be subjected to another; the difference is quite manifest between the two cases.

Another argument which Sir Fitz James Stephen brought forward was that it was only natural that everyone charged with a criminal offence should wish to be tried by one of his own race and colour.

Telang replies: "This leads to a difficulty that natives may have a similar wish". How does Sir Fitz James Stephen meet that? Why, he says that while no native understands English sufficiently to conduct a trial in that language properly, attempts are made, mark the expression, attempts are made to get European Officers to study the Vernaculars of the Country. Telang replied "For every European that can be shown competent to conduct a criminal trial in a vernacular language, we can show at least one hundred natives even more competent to do so in English".

Telang concludes a speech, which makes an intensely instructive reading in the art of dialectics and clear, sober and able presentation of one's own standpoint, by the remark which shows how strong was his faith in Great Britain.

We have a very good case; let us take it before the House of Commons. By past experience we know that in such matters we can trust to the justice and sense of fair play in the British House of Commons. Let us leave this matter also to their judgment in the full confidence that it will be there on consideration free from all local passion and local prepossession.

The House of Commons, as the events proved, could do nothing to support its own Viceroy against the clamour of the Anglo-Indian. Though the Bill was not avowedly withdrawn, its shrinkage in the Legislative Council was tantamount to a virtual abandonment of the principle it was sought to enforce. The wisdom, sobriety and right direction of which Telang spoke in almost his last public address were the remarkable features of the agitation over the Ilbert Bill, in

Bombay piloted by leaders like Telang, Mehta and Tyabji deservedly known as the triumvirate of Bombay's political life. Their attitude secured the compliment of Lord Cromer who characterized the public opinion of Bombay "as expressive of the best type of political thought in India". "This appreciative sentiment," as Mr. Wacha has told us, "had reference to the sobriety and ability with which the great historical meeting in Bombay in support of the Ilbert Bill was conducted".

The next memorable speech of Telang was in connection with the public meeting held to commemorate the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. In that speech he gave reasons for his participation in the movement. Telang in that speech takes up every measure of Lord Ripon and shows how in all his doings the ryot was the object of his "moving active sympathy". His policy deserved praise because "it was diametrically opposed to the policy of carrying taxation along the line of least resistance which commended itself once to some great masters of statecraft". There is an underlying irony in this remark, because the great master of statecraft Telang refers to is evidently Lord Ripon's predecessor under whose administration the finances of India were in a state of hopeless muddle. Telang sums up the spirit of Lord Ripon's rule thus:—

Whether we look at the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act or the resolution for making public the aims and scope of Government measures, or the practice of inviting people's opinions on contemplated projects or whether we look to the great scheme of local self-

government, or the manner in which Kristodas Pal was appointed to the supreme Legislative Council, we see clearly the liberal policy of Lord Ripon's Government.

Adapting the lines of Tennyson, Telang concludes the speech thus:

Lord Ripon has made the bonds of freedom wider by shaping divers august degrees, which have not only left Queen Victoria's throne unshaken in this land but have made it even more broad based upon the people's will. It is that on which, in my humble judgment, rests most firmly Lord Ripon's claim to our gratitude. It is that which justifies the remark that summing up the result of Lord Ripon's rule, you may say, borrowing again the language of the laureate (Tennyson) that "he wrought his people lasting good".

The Indian Community discovered its own strength of combination, its capacity to co-operate in spite of differences of creed and custom on two occasions in the reign of Lord Ripon. First in supporting the Government in its introduction of the Ilbert Bill and secondly in connection with the hearty send-off it accorded to Lord Ripon. For the first time in its long history India forgot that it was a congeries of different nationalities.

The Indian heart beat to one common impulse, it resounded to one common sentiment. Her Majesty's permanent opposition, the sobriquet given to the microscopic minority of the educated classes "walked" to use the phrase Telang used, "for once into the ranks of the ministerialists." The lesson of common agitation thus learnt was well laid to heart. Out of the impulse thus given sprang a movement, which was to bind the sympathies of all, and bring about a coalition and union for common ends. The birth of that movement

was the indirect fulfilment of the policy of Lord Ripon. In reviewing Telang's work as a politician, it is this movement, the growth of which from a seedling into a strong and firmrooted plant, he watched and fostered for well nigh a period of 8 years, that will occupy our attention now. He was the moving spirit of the Congress from its very inception. From 1885–1889 he worked as its general secretary.

His interest in the two organizations in the initiation of which he had a great share, viz., the Bombay Presidency Association and the Congress, continued unabated to the end of his life.

Before however we turn to Telang's work in connection with the Congress, we have to dwell for a while on his work as a secretary of the Bombay Association, the Bombay Branch of the East India Association started by Dadabhoy Nowroji and of the Bombay Presidency Association started by Telang, Mehta and Tyabji in 1885. It was his work as a secretary of these Associations that gave him the training which made him such an effective force in politics. It was as early as 1873, a year after he had entered the profession, that he became the secretary of the Bombay Association started by Bhau Daji and others in 1848 at the instance of Dr. Buist the veteran journalist of the time. Later in 1868 was started the Bombay Branch of the East India Association by Dadabhoy Nowroji. In, 1860, the Bombay Association had collapsed and the Bombay Branch of the East Indian Association was about to share the same fate. Dadabhoy revived it once more by introducing new blood. The Bombay Branch

of the East India Association was found after the events of 1883 and 1884 inadequate for "the extended sphere of political activity which was recognized as essential in view of the greater needs of the country." A new political organization was therefore started in 1885 which has been doing its useful work for the last 26 years. With all these three Associations Telang was vitally connected as their working secretary. It was in this capacity that he received his first lessons of wise agitation.

It was Telang's long experience of the practical part of political work as a Secretary that kept his utterances free from "the foppery of high flown sentiment", and endowed him with a practical turn of mind, sobriety of judgment and close powers of reasoning.

From Telang's work as the secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association we pass on to his work as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council of which he was a member for 5 years. He was nominated in 1884 by the Government of Sir James Fergusson and the appointment continued on, by further nomination through the reign of Lord Reay till 1889. In his capacity as a member of the Council he proved himself an "effective and active critic" of Government measures. Perhaps the most important bills introduced during his term of appointment were the Bill for the Amendment of the Land Revenue Code of 1885 and the City of Bombay Municipal Bill introduced in 1887. His general attitude towards these measures may be best summed up in the words of Sir Raymond West.

On all occasions he resisted excessive government action and interference with the fair play of individual will under the traditional conditions, but always with an elevation of view and a sense of responsibility which made his very opposition an ultimate source of strength.

In his advocacy of people's grievances he was neither fussy nor meddlesome, but when he thought that a principle was at stake he was the foremost to assert it and he asserted it in no hesitating tone.

We now turn to the last phase of Telang's political activity, namely, his work in the Congress. This is not the place to trace the genesis of the Congress. Suffice it to say that to Mr.A.O. Hume goes all the credit for the starting of a movement that was to grow in course of time into such a mighty and potent instrument of national awakening. The Congress held its 1st Session in Bombay in 1885. For four years till 1889 Telang took a most prominent part in its deliberations.

Evidently Telang was not afraid of making the administration of India a party question. Knowing as we do his leanings and relying as he did upon past experience it is not difficult for us to see with what party he would have been willing to throw in his lot. It was to the countrymen of of Gladstone, Bright, Clarkson and Wilberforce, that he appealed in one of his speeches. It was the Government of Lord Ripon that had stood up in his eyes for principles of the Proclamation. Naturally enough therefore the party that gave such a Government was the party towards which his sympathies would incline and to which he

would look up for a progressive measure of Constitutional Government.

For two years Telang could not attend the sittings of the Congress held at Calcutta and Madras. In 1888 he attended the Congress at Allahabad presided over by George Yule and spoke on the resolution of the Reform of the Councils, upholding the same scheme that he had developed in 1885 and dealing with the comments made against the Congress propaganda by highly placed Anglo-Indian officials and more especially by the Viceroy himself in his post-prandial utterance at the annual St. Andrew's Dinner held in Calcutta. Lord Dufferin's attitude towards the Congress was in the main of cordial sympathy. It was owing to his suggestion that the Congress developed into a political gathering. When Mr. Hume in an interview at Simla laid before the Viceroy his project of arranging for an annual meeting place where leaders of Indian thought could come together and discuss social matters, Lord Dufferin told Mr. Hume that it would be far better if the leaders met and pointed out to the Government "in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved." Lord Dufferin said that there was no body of persons in India who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England.

The newspapers, even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable and the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in the native circles.

He therefore proposed that

the Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration of the country needed reform to bring it in a line with the wishes of the people.

When Mr. Hume laid this scheme before the leaders of different provinces it met with the approval and support of all. When the Congress met in Calcutta in 1886 Lord Dufferin invited the leading politicians to a garden party. Thus Lord Dufferin's attitude towards the Congress was in the main sympathetic. Consequently when Telang answered the comments of Lord Dufferin, it was to show that Lord Dufferin had clearly misapprehended the attitude of the Congress. The speech which he delivered on this occasion bound fresh laurels to the brow of Mr. Telang. Mr. Wacha says "To my ears it rings as if it had been delivered yesterday, full as it was of that close reasoning, persuasive eloquence and convincing logic of which he was master." Mr. John Adam who attended the Congress at Allahabad characterizes it thus :—

No one who was present at Allahabad when all India was reeking with the exuberant verbosity of the St. Andrew's Dinner Speech can forget how the passage in which Telang compared the remarks of Lord Dufferin on the Congress proposals to somebody's definition of a crab brought down the house, and the (pawky?) way in which the speaker's eye suggested that the fable of the crab might be given a slightly different application.

If in his speeches on the cotton duties and the License Tax, Telang had set himself "to denounce the Jingoism of Lord Lytton" and in his speech on the Ilbert Bill and on the retirement of Lord Ripon he had "applauded the liberalism of that

generous hearted Viceroy," in the speech delivered before the Congress at Allahabad, Telang in the opinion of John Adam, made it equally clear that he would have none of the diplomacy, the *tortuous haute politique* which Lord Dufferin for its sins imposed on India. The passage containing the reference to the fable of the crab is worth quoting and runs as follows:—

His Lordship says, the idea authoritatively suggested as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will. The basis for that statement is our demand that the financial statement shall be brought before the Council for discussion. Not only do I not find in any of the reports any grounds for such a statement but I find what is actually the reverse of it. It has been said over and over again that the executive shall have the power of deciding what shall be done and of absolutely vetoing any proposal emanating from the rest of the Council and yet in face of such a resolution as this, which we have passed not once, not twice but three times, such a statement has been made by his Lordship. I can only express my amazement at it and I cannot believe his Lordship capable of making it except on the assumption that he has lacked the time to study our reports himself.

Following on this comes the passage which Mr. Adam praises so much.

The various charges which his Lordship makes against the Congress, are charges which remind me of a certain definition which was once given of a crab *viz.* that a crab is a red fish which walks backwards, and the criticism made upon that was that the definition was perfectly correct except that the crab was not a fish, that it was not red and that it did not walk backwards. Now I may say that Lord Dufferin's criticism is perfectly correct, except that we have not asked for democratic

methods of government, we have not asked for Parliamentary institutions which England has got after many centuries of discipline: we have not asked for the power of the purse: and we have not asked that the British Executive should be brought under subjection to us.

This speech is throughout characterized by "sustained simplicity and cogency of rhetoric" which was the conspicuous feature of Telang's public speaking. There is a flavour of refinement and high intellectuality about his utterances rare among the champions of people's rights. This speech as well as those on the Ilbert Bill and the Cotton Duties deserve careful perusal both on the score of their manner and matter. In all these he comes out as "practical, fertile, sagacious, and moderate."

They are considered by Sir Raymond West as models of criticism "which those who would fain take his place and continue his work would do well to study and imitate." These gained for him the reputation of a leader "who led his countrymen by rising superior to them in toleration, largeness of view and in the charity which shrinks from imputing evil." Sir Raymond West remarks:

Telang showed remarkable sagacity and judgment in taking up his positions. He maintained them with great dialectic skill and in language of a limpid purity that would have done credit to an English born orator. He was an assiduous student of Bright's speeches and without rising to majesty, he could infuse into his own addresses, on great occasions, an earnestness and patriotic fervour clothed in unaffected language not unworthy of the great tribune. He could rise with the popular feeling but he could not sink with it below the level of his own magnanimity.

The following is the verdict of another great Anglo-Indian, who heard Mr. Telang and who was also his personal friend, on Telang's style of oratory.

As a speaker Mr. Telang possessed a perfect debating, I should say a perfect House of Commons' style. There was no impassioned eloquence, still less any trace of the demagogue about his oratory. But neither was there an atom of halting or hesitation either in the mental argument or in the verbal utterance. He reasoned with marvellous clearness and lucidity, straight and unflinchingly to his conclusion and played upon the moods of an intellectual audience with the skill of a musician upon a familiar instrument. His wit was quite gallic in its delicacy, and lost nothing in effect by being absolutely free from vulgarity. His English style possessed a full measure of the *curiosa felicitas* which he himself attributed to Lord Lytton. This last trait was all the more remarkable when we remember not only that Mr. Telang spoke in an adopted language, but that he made no attempt to elaborate his speeches beforehand. With his matter thoroughly digested and his line of argument carefully arranged, he left the appropriate words to come at the time. Taken all round, in manner, matter and effect, his speeches may, perhaps, be better compared with those of Lord Rosebery than with the public utterances of any other English speakers of the present day.

The style is the man, so runs the common saying, and simplicity, restraint and polish in diction are the outward signs of a temperament serene, well poised and indicative of what Emerson has chosen to call "the repose of energy". "Calmness comes with knowledge to most men and the turbid stream grows clear as it runs deep, but to some men, moderation and balance of thought are a gift of nature; they perceive that there may be two sides even to a question on which they feel most warmly".

"We thought it fit to introduce these extracts from the appreciations of two Anglo-Indians on Telang's style of oratory because they reveal to us what those who had the best opportunity for observation and judgment thought of his work. In such matters it is best to draw upon the opinion of those who themselves have heard the best speakers in England. Besides, their opinion on Telang's style is as much an opinion on his attitude towards public questions.

The Congress of 1888 was the last Congress Telang attended. Before its next meeting in Bombay in 1889 he had been elevated to the Bench and could no longer be an active worker in the political field. In the Age of Consent Controversy Telang again came to the forefront to define what he thought the limits of state action. There again he shone out as the bold champion of what he considered to be the right and true course of action. Then it was that he proclaimed that a man may renounce his right but can never renounce his duty. What is true of a single individual, is more true of the state.

THE END.

Telang's period of active work covered only twenty years. Considering that the last years of his life passed away in the trammels of office and in a very precarious and poor state of health, it betrays marvellous precocity of talent to find so much sterling work, so much earnest endeavour compressed within such a small span. The honours that come to a man at the very end of his career were showered upon him in the very

prime of life and the position he won in the hearts of the people would have constituted for any other man a sufficient reward for the last days of a long life spent in the service of his country. Mr. Telang's career was meteoric but it left permanent traces on the generation that followed him. To this day his words carry conviction and are pregnant with sage counsel. He died in the prime of life at the age of 43 when others begin their public career and yet his scholarship, insight, and foresight, invest his utterances with the breadth and penetration that come only from the riper experience of life and its stern discipline.

Telang embodies for modern India a type of culture and enlightenment in which currents of opposite kind had commingled to constitute the light, wisdom and the sobriety of his opinions. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, a deep student of Marathi literature and history, at the same time that he had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of Western thought as reflected in its literature, history and philosophy.

He combined the severe simplicity of an oriental scholar with all the geniality, warmth, refinement and the passion for progress which are the glory and the privilege of the West. His amiability and courtesy were according to the testimony of his friends incomparable. His tact was inimitable. Even in his eloquence there was light rather than heat or motion. Sweet reasonableness is its highest praise. In his attacks on measures and in his criticism of men he never forgot what he owed to others as a gentleman. The cocksureness of statement which is a mark,

as much of ignorance as of haughtiness, is conspicuous in him by its absence. Yet he never vacillates in the assertion of what he considered as true and essential. Telang was logical in the extreme but his logic was not dry and cold. It borrowed not a little from the mellow light of imagination and poetry. His passionate advocacy of political or social reform was never marred by fanatical exclusiveness. He was willing to concede as much to circumstance as was proper and inevitable.

But whenever circumstance was interposed as a fetish in the pathway of progress, none put his foot down more strongly for what he considered to be the essentials of progress. This was what made him declare on one occasion in the face of the prejudices and censures of many of his associates :—

> Our system is to a great extent become putrified : the moral conceptions which once informed it have long since vanished, and we are now hugging the mere outer shell as if that were all in all. It is the bounden duty of the legislature in the interests of humanity and of the worldly interests of the communities committed to its charge and for such a purpose as the present, to disregard, if need be, the Hindu Shastras.

We are not permitted to lift up the veil of reserve which he deliberately threw over some of the deepest questions of life. Yet from his tastes and pursuits, from the side light thrown by his conversations with friends, from his favourite authors, we can get a glimpse into his innermost convictions on life and its future. His temperament was rational and critical, yet deep and reverential. His studies in the theology of the East

had broken off the shackles of custom, dogma, ritual and superstition which current Hinduism imposed upon its followers. The study of Spencer, Mill, Huxley and Tyndall had brought on an agnostic frame of mind. Yet he was side by side a close student of Shankaracharya's Vedanta philosophy, of the Upanishads and the Bhagwat-gita. He found solace in the poetry of Wordsworth, and an increasing delight, as life advanced, in the pages of Thomas A. Kempis, Ruskin, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold and the Bible. How all these elements worked out in the result we are not guaranteed to lay down with perfect certainty. That life did not strike him as a huge joke, a pageantry or farce is evident from what he said on one occasion to one of his friends.

After all is said and done, though there is much that is mysterious about life and human destiny, you cannot get rid of one fact to which Wordsworth has given the best expression when he says, 'there is not a man that lives who hath not known his god-like hours and feels not what an empire we inherit as natural beings in the strength of Nature.' You feel in spite of all your doubts and uncertainties that there is something in you which is not human and that something calls for faith.

Telang was raised to the Bench in 1889, public honours which he regarded as so many opportunities for the better performance of civic duties, came to him in rapid succession. His learning and scholarship found recognition in his being elected in 1892 to succeed Sir Raymond West, as the President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. His educational work was rewarded by the decoration of C. I. E., and

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